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THE SOCIAL LIFE OF IMAGES

POWER, SPECTACLE, AND THE ROLE OF THE VISUAL IN COLONIALISM

by Christopher J. Lee Stanford University

n a previous essay for the Safundi Member Research Newsletter (January **2004**), I finished with a conclusion that posed a notion of "empire" as being less a concrete political entity—or unit of analysis—and being more a set of relationships and connections—viewed, experienced, and defined from a number of different perspectives. The utility of such a definition, it seemed to me then, was to complicate how empire in its contemporary and past manifestations might be examined and analyzed. The need for precision—what these connections are exactly, how they are constituted, what causal role they playis a matter of further, ongoing research. To my surprise, the situation at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq this past May has provided in part a contemporary case of what might comprise these connections.

The events at Abu Ghraib do not require a full summary and assessment here, except to underscore the role of photography in creating contingent connections between events in distant places and public opinion closer to "home," wherever that might be.¹ With photographs come images, and with

images come interpretations. The dissemination of photos of torture and humiliation from within the walls of one of Iraq's most notorious prisons—the disturbing coincidence of continuity must not be lost—resulted in what has commonly been referred to as a "public-relations nightmare" for the Bush administration, though at a different, more inchoate level resulted in a period of self-reflection among the American public as to the broader meaning of these photographs. Various pundits and intellectuals were quick to jump at the opportunity to further criticize the Bush administration for the ongoing ad-hoc appearance of local governance in Iraq, its continued legal semantics, and the general sense of discrepancy between pro-war rhetoric and the realities of rule, particularly its undiminished aspects of violence.

In an article for the New York Times Magazine, Susan Sontag—author of two relevant books here, On Photography (1977) and Regarding the Pain of Others (2003)²—wrote that the direct involvement of an Army Reserve unit, essentially civilian in composition, in such behavior posed

troubling questions regarding the limits of culpability. In her words:

"To have the American effort in Iraq summed up by these images must seem, to those who saw some justification in a war that did overthrow one of the monster tyrants of modern times, 'unfair.' A war, an occupation, is inevitably a huge tapestry of actions. What makes some actions representative and others not? The issue is not whether the torture was done by individuals (i.e., 'not by everybody')—but whether it was systematic. Authorized. Condoned. All acts are done by individuals. The issue is not whether a majority or a minority of Americans performs such acts but whether the nature of the policies prosecuted by this administration and the hierarchies deployed to carry them out makes such acts likely."

In this vague, intermediate territory involving civilian-soldiers and an opaque hierarchy of command between U.S. intelligence and military officials, an uncertain middle ground appeared,

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casting widespread guilt and enabling evasiveness in equal measure. In her opinion, Sontag accordingly argues that "in this light, the photographs are us." How then might the past speak to this recent situation?

The concurrent development of photography as a modern art form and the event of modern colonialism is accidental,

though the consequences of this coincidence have had a powerful, if at times under-explored, effect on perceptions of colonialism's purpose and the areas where it was experienced. In an important collection of essays on this subject entitled *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (2002), Paul Landau has argued that images have had a complex role in the history of Africa, at various times underwriting and underthining hierarchies of power. Furthermore, images and their making have had a two-way effect,

serving to consolidate stereotypes of the African "Other," while simultaneously coalescing and reinforcing senses of the European "Self." Photography and film satisfied a modern, Victorian desire for classification and taxonomy, dividing the world into recognizable scientific "types," into genealogical trees and hierarchies of intrinsic, natural status. Landau notes the connections between photography, the rise of racial science, and the discipline of physical anthropology, from the

19th century work of Carl and Frederick Damann—whose Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man (1876) first utilized the "mug shot" technique—to the proliferation of anthropometric photography during the early twentieth century. According to Landau, such use of the visual has had a powerful, if nonlinear, impact on Africa: "it supported a

relatively small number of predictable stereotypes; ... it flattened stacked and overlapping forms of identity into comparable types, which were mainly 'tribes;' ... it reflected the ideology that modern economies were naturally divorced from tribes; and... it created the illusion of control, and therefore facilitated the 'administration,' of those tribes."⁵

It is also clear, as evinced by Landau and Kaspin's collection, that images are not merely comprised by photographs but are contained in a number of mutable forms: comic

strips, film, artwork, even graves.⁶ Travel writing of the nineteenth-century was saturated with images, not only in the lithographs that illustrated such books, but in the words themselves. Indeed, given the contributions of Edward Said and V. Y. Mudimbe in *Orientalism* (1978) and *The Invention of Africa* (1988) respectively, much of the imagery that has been conjured about Africa and other parts of the colonized world has been rendered through writing.⁷ Furthermore, such

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SPECIAL ISSUE - Race and Class in South Africa and the United States

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practices of image-making were not limited to constructing large-scale senses of difference between the West and the Rest, but were also situated locally to police the rights and status of various minority communities, as books by George Fredrickson and David Roediger have separately demonstrated in the context of American history.⁸ It is important, then, not only to understand that such discursive image-making has had an impact on the present, but also to recognize and examine the history of such image-making itself and the kind of influence it has on how the past is seen. Recent studies by Carolyn Hamilton and Leslie Witz have interrogated this territory of history and the making of history, addressing the distinctions and interplay between myth-making, public history, and politics.⁹

If anything, photography has further facilitated such processes of image-making and the consolidation of power. In the history of U.S. race relations, among the most powerful historical images for the level of racism they betray are those of public lynchings in the South. Openly photographed for reasons of power and spectacle, they have since acquired a gruesomeness in the history of photography matched only by images coming from various war zones during the twentieth century.¹⁰ Sontag sees a connection between this history and Abu Ghraib, writing, "the horror of what is shown in the photographs cannot be separated from the horror that the photographs were taken... lynching photographs were souvenirs of a collective action whose participants felt perfectly justified in what they had done." And yet, as Paul Landau suggests, photographs themselves can also conceal much of their "labor": their production, their distribution, and, at times, their objective. They can acquire a social life beyond their makers intent.

Such is the case with Abu Ghraib. But it is also the case elsewhere in modern history as this essay has tried to suggest. The power of photographs comes from their ability to "compress complex intentions in economical forms" and their skill at moving "more easily than language across cultural boundaries."11 Moreover, it is important to emphasize that these qualities have been employed not only in the service of power but also those struggling against it. Photographs from Sharpeville to Birmingham, from Soweto and Gugulethu to South Central, Los Angeles, and Oakland, California: all attest to the role that photojournalism has played in communicating the political struggles of these places to other parts of the world.12 The "labor" of such image-making and the social life of the images produced—in creating connections across time and space—remain vital areas for scholars of comparative history to explore further.

Notes

- ¹ For one overview, see Mark Danner, "Torture and Truth," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 51, No. 10, June 10, 2004; Mark Danner, "The Logic of Torture," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. 51, No. 11, June 24, 2004.
- ² Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1977); Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003).
- ³ Susan Sontag, "Regarding the Torture of Others," *New York Times Magazine*, May 23, 2004.
- ⁴ Paul S. Landau, "Introduction: An Amazing Distance—Pictures and People in Africa," in *Images and Empire: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- ⁵ Paul S. Landau, "Africa Forum: Photography and Colonial Vision," *H-Africa* (May 1999). Much of this essay is reprinted and expanded in Paul S. Landau, "Empires of the Visual: Photography and Colonial Administration in Africa," in *Images and Empire: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). I cite the H-Net version in part due to its wider availability online.
- ⁶ In their collection, see chapters by David Bunn, Nancy Rose Hunt, Robert Gordon, and Pippa Skotnes, among others.
- ⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). See also Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964)
- ⁸ George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991). See also Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
- ⁹ Carolyn Hamilton, Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); Leslie Witz, Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- ¹⁰ For recent studies of lynching, including photographs, see Philip Dray, At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America (New York: Random House, 2002); James H. Madison, A Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America (New York: Palgrave, 2001); James Allen, et. al., Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms, 2000).
- ¹¹ Deborah D. Kaspin, "Conclusion: Signifying Power in Africa," in *Images and Empire: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Paul S. Landau and Deborah D. Kaspin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 320.
- ¹² For a compelling, popular account of photojournalists working during the late apartheid period, see Greg Marinovich and João Silva, *The Bang-Bang Club: Snapshots from a Hidden War* (Boulder: Basic Books, 2000).



- Calls for Papers

"Diaspora Identity" Due: 9/1/2004

Contact: Lisa Aronson, LA8N@virginia.edu

Link: healthsystem.virginia.edu/internet/csmhi/journal.cfm

Mind and Human Interaction, an interdisciplinary journal published by the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction, University of Virginia, is seeking papers on the theme of "Diaspora Identity". Whether exiled or immigrating to a new land, whether first or second generation, an individual psychologically intertwines the home of origin and the present home in a variety of ways that impact his/her identity. We would be very interested in learning more about this psychological process and look forward to receiving your submission.

"Special Pedagogy Issue of Safund?"

Due: 10/13/2004

Contact: Larry Shore, lshorel@optonline.net

Issue 16 of Safundi will be a special issue on pedagogy guest edited by Larry Shore (CUNY) and will address one central question: How and why do university teachers today, in the United States, teach about South Africa and how do people in South Africa teach about the United States?

We think that, because of the two-way nature of Safundi, both of these questions are worth considering. However, there are significant enough differences between current teaching about South Africa in the United States and the teaching about the USA in South Africa to consider them separately. We welcome submissions for both.

"Trauma in Africa: Constructions, Experiences, & Interventions"

Due: 10/15/2004

Contact: Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, criticalpsych@hotmail.com
The International Journal of Critical Psychology is announcing a call for
papers for a special issue offering insights on a broad range of topics related to
trauma in the African Continent. Major conflicts in areas such as Rwanda,
South Africa, and the Democratic Republic of Congo have made a powerful
impact on the African Continent, resulting in harm to individuals, family
structures, and communities. Often viewed as a site of violence, Africa should
also rightly be viewed as a location at the forefront of critical debate around issues
of trauma and the development of effective interventions for survivors. Ongoing
discussions have been raised on issues such as different experiences of trauma,
child soldiers, the role of NGOs, and conceptualisations of mental illness
such as PTSD. This issue will contribute to the critical debate on causes and
expressions of trauma in an African context, inform scholars about new and
effective approaches to counselling of traumatised individuals, families, and
communities, and offer insights into causes and experiences of trauma.

"Regional and Ethnic Music and the Literary Imagination"

Due: 10/28/2004

Contact: Joe C. Wisdom, jwisdom@fgcu.edu

Cajun, zydeco, bluegrass, blues, stringband, shapenote, conjunto, rockabilly, conga, klezmer, gospel, steelband, other? This panel will explore the personal, cultural, and literary influences of regional and ethnic music on North American writers. Interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged. The session will be proposed for the 2004 SCMLA conference, "Cultural Confluences," to be held in (where better for such a session?) New Orleans, October 28-30, 2004. By January 31, 2004, please submit a 350-word abstract and brief vita. Email submissions are preferred.

"Special Issue of Postcolonial Studies: 'Digital Culture"

Due: 10/30/2004

Contact: Mark Poster, pcs@netspace.net.au

Link: www.ipcs.org.au

Postcolonial studies is heavily affected by processes of globalisation. Among these trends is the spread of networked computing and digital culture, from email and websites, from Usenet to massively multiple online games and digital art, from net news journals to blogs. Digital culture also affects the world labour market as workers around the globe are recruited into high technology jobs as diverse as assembly line production of computers, homeworked programming of software and call centers where workers are taught the rudiments of foreign (mostly American) cultures to enable telephone support for products and services. New media, in short, are now global. This special issue inquires into the consequences of such phenomena for the postcolonial condition.

"Essay Proposals for MLA Options Volume on Teaching the African Novel"

Due: 12/1/2004

Contact: Gaurav Desai, gaurav@tulane.edu

The Publications Committee of the Modern Language Association of America has approved the development of a volume of essays on teaching the African novel. This volume, planned as part of the Options for Teaching series, will be edited by Gaurav Desai. As currently projected, the volume will be structured in three main sections, the first devoted to theoretical approaches (e.g., Afrocentric, feminist/womanist, theories of orature), the second to thematic concerns (e.g., political resistance, nationalism, multiculturalism), and the third to a variety of course and institutional contexts in which the novels are taught (e.g., seminar course, foreign language course, women's studies course, historically black colleges). The volume will also include a section on resources that may be helpful to teachers of African novels.

"Northeast Workshop on Southern Africa"

Due: 12/15/2004

Contact: Julie Livingston, iliving@tulrich.com

We encourage scholars from all disciplines who are currently working on southern Africa (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe) to submit proposals. The meeting will be held at the Bishop Booth Conference Center in Burlington, Vermont (US), between April 22 and April 25, 2005. The

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conference occurs shortly before the Canadian African Studies meeting to be held at the Marriott Chateau Champlain in Montreal (90-minute drive from Burlington), April 27 - May 1, 2005. The NEWSA conference was timed in such a way so that international attendees can attend both meetings.

"Southern Africa and the World: the Local, the Regional and the Global in Historical Perspective"

Due: 2/1/2005

Contact: S. African Historical Society, sahs@humanities.uct.ac.za Link: www.uct.ac.za/depts/history/sahs

Any proposals for papers, panels and roundtables are invited, but the Society is especially interested in those that relate to themes in the history of the southern African region. The Society, which may change its name to the Southern African Historical Society next year, wishes to highlight debates on such topics as a) liberation struggles and the limits of liberation; b) history and heritage; c) postcolonial and post-nationalist historiographies; d) new methodologies for teaching and researching history in the 21st century, including the use of film and video and digitisation. We also envisage panel discussions on such topics as the state of history in the different countries of the region, and how history teaching and research can be decolonised. Proposals for papers, panels and roundtables on any aspect of South African, African or World history will be welcome and will be accepted on a space-available basis until February 1 2005. Abstracts should not exceed 250 words and should be sent as an MS Word attachment. For proposals for panels and roundtables please include the names of participants, abstracts of their proposed contributions, their affiliations, email addresses and contact details.

Conferences and Workshops

"Looking at South Africa 10 Years On"

Start Date: 9/10/2004 End Date: 9/12/2004 Location: London

Contact: Henning Melber, henning.melber@nai.uu.se

"Looking at South Africa 10 Years On" will celebrate a decade of democracy in South Africa but also constructively and critically reflect on its achievements. The conference will be hosted by the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and the School of Oriental and African Studies, in collaboration with the Journal of Southern African Studies (JSAS), which is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary, the Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE) and the Journal of Contemporary African Studies (JCAS). The programme committee includes Shula Marks (SOAS); Tim Shan, Paul Gready, Brendan Vickers and Fiona White (all ICS); Steve Kibble (CIIR), Peter Lawrence (Keele) and Henning Melber (Nordic Africa Institute).

"The Conference on Geopolitics Evolutions of Africa in Beginning of the 3rd Millennium"

Start Date: 9/20/2004 End Date: 9/21/2004 Location: Tehran, Iran

Contact: Mohammad Reza Hafeznia, asc@modares.ac.ir

The old, and vast continent of Africa, with more than 800 million population, and with old and ancient cultures and civilizations with the most number of political states amongst the continents of the world (54 countries), with natural and human potentials is about to enter the 3rd millenium and to form new relationships within and outside its continent. As a result, the Geopolitics

department of the ASC, affiliated with Tarbiat Modarres University intends to hold a conference to be held with the Geopolitics Association of Iran at Tarbiat Modarres University, Tehran, Iran. Accordingly, all interested researchers, experts, and students are hereby invited to send abstracts of their articles on one of the main topics of the conference: Regional Internal Competitions in Africa, Africa and super powers, Africa and Regional Unions, Convergences and divergences in Africa, Dominant trends on African Regional Politics, Current crises in Africa, Structural Evolutions within Africa, Foundations and Domains of competition in Africa, and New Evolutions in the relationship between Iran and Africa.

"International Anti-Apartheid Conference"

Start Date: 10/10/2004 End Date: 10/13/2004 Location: Durban

Contact: Narissa Ramdhani, ramdhanin@ukzn.ac.za

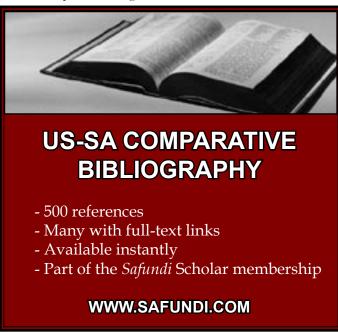
Link: www.ukzn.ac.za/aam2004/

As part of the national celebrations to mark the decade of freedom, the Documentation Centre and the Campbell Collections of the University of KwaZulu-Natal will jointly host a conference of the International Anti-Apartheid Movement over three days in Durban from 10 - 12 October, 2004. The conference will seek to bring together, for the first time, activists who have been involved in the anti-apartheid struggle from countries such as the UK, USA, India, Australia, Japan, Germany, France, New Zealand, the Nordic countries and the African continent to South Africa. The conference will take place around a myriad of related activities in the city such as exhibitions from different countries, film launches and book launches. Invitees to the conference will include members of the international anti-apartheid movement, stalwarts of South Africa's liberation struggle, members of the South African government, representatives of foreign governments and academics.

"Life and Death in a Time of AIDS: The Southern African

Experience"

Start Date: 10/14/2004 End Date: 10/16/2004 Location: Johannesburg



THE SAFUNDI MEMBER RESEARCH NEWSLETTER :: JULY 2004

Contact: WISER, najibha@wiser.wits.ac.za

In this symposium, we seek to understand these new configurations of life and death in a time of AIDS within the Southern African region, more fully. Our aim is to bring together researchers, practitioners, activists and decision-makers, dealing with such issues from a range of disciplinary perspectives, to explore the cultural, political, social and psychological reaches of HIV/AIDS within the lives of those living with AIDS and those dying from it.

"The Power of Expression: Identity, Language, and Memory in

Africa and the Diaspora" Start Date: 11/11/2004 End Date: 11/14/2004

Location: New Orleans, Louisiana

Contact: Kimme Carlos, kcarlos@rci.rutgers.edu

Link: www.africanstudies.org

The 47th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association will take place from November 11-14, 2004 at the Marriott Hotel in New Orleans, LA. The meeting will be held jointly with the Canadian Association of African Studies. The National Program Co-Chairs are Dennis Cordell (Southern Methodist University) and Philip Zachernuk (Dalhousie University).

"International Conference on Social Science Research"

Start Date: 11/11/2004 End Date: 11/13/2004

Location: New Orleans, Louisiana

Contact: Centre for Policy and Practice, info@centrepp.org

Link: http://www.centrepp.org/socialscience.html

This interdisciplinary conference will draw together faculty members, research scientists, and professionals from the social sciences, and provide them with the opportunity to interact with colleagues from the same field and from other, related fields. Cross-disciplinary submissions are particularly encouraged as is participation by international scholars.

"African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific"

Start Date: 11/26/2004 End Date: 11/28/2004 Location: Perth, Australia

Contact: Jeremy Martens, jmartens@arts.uwa.edu.au

Link: sponsored.uwa.edu.au/afsaap2004

The aim of the conference is to facilitate discussion on a wide range of subjects relating to the study of Africa and the organizers invite proposals for papers on any aspect of Africa, as well as on comparative approaches. While the overall conference theme is broad, there is ample room for specialized contributions and papers reflecting the different disciplines and wide-ranging interests of academics, professionals, and postgraduates, as well as the wider diplomatic, government, aid/NGO, media, cultural, labour/business, and African communities.

"Northeast Workshop on Southern Africa"

Start Date: 4/22/2005

Location: Burlington, Vermont

Contact: Julie Livingston, jliving@tulrich.com

The NEWSA conference is organized around intensive discussion of precirculated papers. There are also many opportunities for informal conversation of work-in-progress. Located on 130 acres of forest with its own secluded beach, the center is an ideal location for discussion and conversation. We encourage the presentation of previously unpublished work, and submissions from graduate students and junior faculty in particular. "South African Historical Society Biennial Conference"

Start Date: 6/26/2005 End Date: 6/29/2005 Location: Cape Town

Contact: Lance van Sittert, cdude@humanities.uct.ac.za

Link: http://www.uct.ac.za/depts/history/sahs

Southern Africa and the World: the Local, the Regional and the Global in Historical Perspective

- Books, Reviews, and Research

"Comparative Issue of the Journal of Southern African Studies" Contact: Jennifer Hetherington, jennifer.hetherington@tandf.c o.uk

Link: www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/03057070.asp

"Illuminations 20 Features Dennis Brutus"

Contact: Simon Lewis, LewisS@cofc.edu

Link: http://www.cofc.edu/illuminations

The College of Charleston Department of English is pleased to announce the publication of the latest issue of Illuminations: An International Magazine of Contemporary Writing. In this issue, poets, writers, academics and activists from around the world pay tribute to the indomitable spirit of South African poet and activist Dennis Brutus, who turns 80 on November 28, 2004. Including two typically engaged new poems by Brutus himself, this special issue features tributes from Nobel laureates and fellow South Africans Desmond Tutu and Nadine Gordimer, poems by many of Brutus's friends and admirers from South Africa, Nigeria, and the United States, (including Peter Horn, Keith Gottschalk, Allan Kolski Horwitz, Gabeba Baderoon, Tanure Ojaide, Martin Espada, Marcus Rediker, and Bernth Lindfors), as well as anecdotes and commentary on Brutus's influence on contemporary poetry and politics in South Africa and worldwide.

-FYI

"New Publication: WISER Review"

Contact: Deborah Posel, najibha@wiser.wits.ac.za

Our aim, in producing The WISER Review, is to create a new genre of writing in this country, which is intellectual without being exclusively academic. The feedback we get at our public events leads us to believe that there is a readership out there which would be enthusiastic about deepening public debate in this country beyond what the newspapers currently offer. We believe that one of the cornerstones of a democracy is a vibrant intelligentsia. We hope that a publication such as The WISER Review could make a contribution to the quality of public intellectual debate in South Africa.

"New Articles at Chimurenga"

Contact: Sean Jacobs, jacobss@newschool.edu

Link: www.chimurenga.co.za

Chimurenga, a publication, of arts, culture and politics from and about Africa and its Diasporas, has been in print since March 2002. Started as a quarterly, Chimurenga now appears whenever. For the latest articles, visit the website listed above.



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-ABOUT SAFUNDI-

Safundi is an online community of scholars, professionals, and others interested in comparing and contrasting the United States of America with the Republic of South Africa.

The word "Safundi" was created solely for this community of scholars and deconstructs as follows: "S" represents "South Africa," "a" stands for "America," and "fundi" comes from the Xhosa word, "umfundi," which translates as "scholar."

The journal, Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, is the centerpiece of the online community. The editors believe that analyzing the two countries in a comparative context enhances the perspective of each, individually. While new comparative research is the focus of the journal, Safundi also publishes articles specifically addressing one country, provided the articles are of interest to the comparative scholar. Furthermore, Safundi's subject matter is as permeable as any country's border: the editors will consider research addressing other colonial and postcolonial states in Southern Africa and North America.

Articles that *Safundi* publishes are academic in nature. Research papers are reviewed as they are submitted. Scholarly essays are welcomed. Any topic may be addressed. *Safundi* aims to provide its readers with a diverse and insightful collection of articles in each issue.

The journal is published on a quarterly basis, and it is peer-reviewed. Submissions are vetted by the editors-in-chief and the editorial board before they are accepted for publication. *Safundi* retains the copyrights to all articles unless otherwise noted; however, should authors wish to have their papers published elsewhere after first appearing in *Safundi*, permission will be granted upon receipt of a written request and so long as credit is given to *Safundi* as the original publisher.

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